

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /031 W

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R 271015Z JUN 74

FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8717

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

USMISSION USUN

S E C R E T NICOSIA 1224

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS PFOR GY CY

SUBJECT: GREECE-CYPRUS RELATIONS

REF: ATHENS 3936, ANKARA 5012

SUMMARY: WE AGREE WITH ATHENS AS TO GRAVITY NICOSIA/ATHENS CONFRONTATION. APPARENTLY WE ALL AGREE THAT FORMAL DEMARCHES NOT USEFUL AT THIS STAGE. DECONFRONTATION DEMONSTRABLY SERVES USG INTERESTS AS WELL AS THOSE OF GOGREECE AND GOCYPRUS. WE THINK IT IMPORTANT TO GET MESSAGE TO MAKARIOS AND PARTICULARLY TO IOANNIDES (AND NOT JUST FOREIGN MINISTRY) AS TO DAMAGE A CRISIS COULD DO TO THEIR OWN INTERESTS.

1. WE WISH TO FLAG SOME POINTS THAT LOOK PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT FROM HERE, TO POINT OUT ONE CHANGE IN SITUATION, AND TO COMMENT ON ATHENS PROPOSAL REFTEL.

2.KEY POINTS:

(A) WE AGREE WITH ATHENS THAT MAKARIOS-IOANNIDES SHOW-DOWN MAY WELL BE ON THE WAY.

(B) CONFRONTATION IS WITH NATIONAL GUARD AND IOANNIDES, NOT WITH EOKA-B. WE THINK EOKA-B LARGELY A FROSTING (THOUGH
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BRITISH THINK OTHERWISE). LOCALS SEE CONFLICT AS DIRECTLY

BETWEEN GOCYPRUS AND GREEK JUNTA, AND THAT IS WHY CENTER-RIGHT IS WAVERING AS IT DID NOT DURING GRIVAS CONFRONTATION.

(C) ANKARA PROBABLY EVEN MORE DISTRUSTFUL OF IOANNIDES THAN PAPADOPOULOS, AND MORE LIKELY TO REACT QUICKLY IN PRESENT MOOD AGAINST ANYTHING THAT LOOKS LIKE "ENOSIST COUP." (SEE STATE 103030 PARA 5 AND ANKARA 5012.)

(D) IF IOANNIDES' OBJECTIVES ARE ANTI-COMMUNIST, HIS MEANS ARE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE, SINCE HE IS FORCING MAKARIOS TO SEEK SUPPORT WHERE HE CAN FIND IT, AND INCIPIENT POLARIZATION OF GREEK CYPRIOT COMMUNITY COULD BREAK INTO CIVIL WAR PARTICULARLY IF MAKARIOS ELIMINATED, WITH COMMUNISTS HAVING ALMOST ALL ADVANTAGES EXCEPT (WE HOPE) IN GUNS.

(E) TALKING TO GREEK FOREIGN MINISTRY UNPRODUCTIVE, SINCE BY ALL ACCOUNTS IT VIEWS SITUATION MUCH AS WE DO.

3. RECENT CHANGE IN SITUATION IS THAT MAKARIOS IS PRESENTLY COUNTERATTACKING AFTER PERIOD (WHICH LED TO STATE 103030) IN WHICH INCREASING NG ACTIVITIES RAISED REAL CONCERN THAT IT IS OUT TO GET HIM. USG INTERESTS ARE BY NO MEANS ENTIRELY CONGRUENT WITH MAKARIOS' IN THIS SITUATION (SEE NICOSIA 1153).

4. AS TO WHAT USG SHOULD DO: WE ALL APPARENTLY AGREE THAT FORMAL USG DEMARCHE NOT DESIRABLE AT THIS STAGE. PRESENT ISSUE IS HOW TO GET TO IOANNIDES (SEE QUESTION STATE 103030, PARA 7) AND TO MAKARIOS WITH WARNING THAT CONFRONTATION IS DISSERVICE TO THEIR INTERESTS. WE CAN GET TO MAKARIOS' CONFIDANTS WITH EASE AND BELIEVE THAT AMBASSADOR DAVIES' INITIAL INTERVIEW WITH MAKARIOS WOULD BE IDEAL TIME TO MAKE OUR POINTS DIRECTLY AND FORCEFULLY. WE DON'T KNOW HOW TO GET TO IOANNIDES, BUT BELIEVE IT VERY IMPORTANT TO DO SO. (IN FACT, WE THINK MAKARIOS IS WILY ENOUGH, WILL PROBABLY DRAW BACK FROM ULTIMATE CONFRONTATION, BUT IOANNIDES IS UNKNOWN QUANTITY AND EVEN MAKARIOS COULD MISCALCULATE, PARTICULARLY SINCE WE ARE IMPRESSED BY REASONING PARA 4 ATHENS 3936 AND WE FEAR IOANNIDES MAY BE EMBARKED UPON DELIBERATE CRUSADE TO WIPE OUT MAKARIOS.) WE THINK IOANNIDES SHOULD BE REACHED DESPITE EMBARRASSMENT CITED PARA 8 ATHENS 3936. ANY HELP NATO
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CAN PROVIDE IS FINE, BUT WE WONDER IF LUNS HAS ALL THE ARGUMENTS AT HIS FINGERTIPS.

5. IN ADDITION TO OBVIOUS ARGUMENTS IN THIS AND OTHER CABLES AS TO WHY CONFRONTATION DANGEROUS FOR BOTH NICOSIA AND ATHENS, WE SUGGEST A NEW LINE WHICH POTENTIALLY USEFUL. AS PARA 5 ATHENS 3936 SUGGESTS, ATHENS COULD HAVE TROUBLE WITH SOVS AND THIRD WORLD IF IT WENT AFTER MAKARIOS. DOES ATHENS

REALLY WANT TO EARN ARABS' EMNITY AT THIS STAGE IN HISTORY?
(IN SOMEWHAT SIMILAR VEIN, WE HAVE REMINDED GOCYPRUS THAT
KEMALIST PERIOD IS OVER, THAT TURKEY IS MAKING REAL GAINS WITH
GO-RELIGIONISTS, AND THAT GOCYPRUS COULD EVENTUALLY HAVE TROUBLE
WITH ARABS IF IT GETS TOO ROUGH WITH ITS MOSLEM MINORITY.)

6. AS TO WHAT USG WANTS ANTAGONISTS TO DO, WE THINK THIS IS
REALLY QUITE SIMPLE. IF GOGREECE WOULD GIVE ITS OFFICERS
MEANINGFUL COMMAND NOT TO ENGAGE IN ANTI-MAKARIOS PROPAGANDA,
DISSOCIATE THE NG FROM EOKA-B ACTIVITIES, AND FIND SOME MEANS
TO RECOGNIZE LEGALITY OF GOCYPRUS COUNCIL OF MINISTERS' ROLE
IN SELECTION OF CADET OFFICERS, WE THINK MAKARIOS (PROBABLY
ALREADY SHAKEN) WOULD BE GLAD TO DEFER ANY LARGER PLANS FOR
ASSERTING CONTROL OVER NG. ACTION ON THE CADET OFFICER POINT
IS CRITICAL (AND CRISIS DATE IS DEFINABLE: SEPTEMBER, WHEN THEY
GRADUATE). WITH CONCESSION ON THAT POINT ALONE, ATHENS/NICOSIA
RELATIONS WOULD PROBABLY SUBSIDE TO THEIR NORMAL BAD LEVEL.
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